

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 053954
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00
SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-10 TRSE-00 /077 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/SE: RCEWING:LLL
APPROVED BY EUR/SE: NCLEDSKY
C:RHOPPER
EUR:REBARBOUR
S/S - MR. ORTIZ

-----110117Z 116009 /14

O 102345Z MAR 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 053954

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, CY, GR, TU

SUBJECT: CLIFFORD MISSION: CONGRESSIONAL STATEMENT

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF STATEMENT TO BE RELEASED MARCH 11 BY
CLARK M. CLIFFORD BEFORE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
COMMITTEE (MARCH 10) AND SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE
(MARCH 11). BOTH COMMITTEES WERE TO HEAR CLIFFORD IN
CLOSED SESSION; CLIFFORD'S ACTUAL REMARKS WERE OF INFORMAL
NATURE AND DID NOT FOLLOW PREPARED TEXT.

"STATEMENT BY CLARK M. CLIFFORD BEFORE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 053954

RELATIONS COMMITTEE AND SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE
(MARCH 10 AND 11, 1977)

"I PARTICULARLY WELCOME THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE WITH YOU
THE IMPRESSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS WHICH I BRING BACK FROM
MY RECENT MISSION TO THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. I RETURNED
FROM EUROPE ONLY LAST WEEK. I HAVE ALREADY HAD MEETINGS
WITH THE PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
AND DR. BRZEZINSKI, AND I WANT NOW TO REPORT DIRECTLY TO
THE MOST INTERESTED COMMITTEES OF THE CONGRESS.

"I AM DEEPLY CONSCIOUS OF THE INTEREST AND INVOLVEMENT THIS COMMITTEE HAS HAD IN THE PROBLEMS OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. I MYSELF HAD USEFUL TALKS WITH MANY OF YOU INFORMALLY BEFORE UNDERTAKING MY MISSION.

"THE MISSION THE PRESIDENT ASKED ME TO UNDERTAKE WAS BOTH CHALLENGING AND FASCINATING. IT HAD TO DO WITH A PART OF THE WORLD WHICH VITALLY CONCERNS THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES. IT INVOLVED TWO OF OUR VALUED NATO PARTNERS. ON A PERSONAL LEVEL, IT BROUGHT ME BACK IN TOUCH WITH AN AREA WHICH I WAS DEEPLY INVOLVED WITH IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN THIRTY YEARS AGO.

"THE LEADERS OF GREECE, TURKEY AND CYPRUS CORRECTLY SAW MY MISSION AS A SIGNAL OF THE DEEP INTEREST THAT PRESIDENT CARTER TAKES IN THE PROBLEMS OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. THEY WERE DEEPLY IMPRESSED THAT IN THE FIRST MONTH OF HIS ADMINISTRATION THE PRESIDENT HAD SEEN FIT TO DESIGNATE A PERSONAL ENVOY TO TRAVEL TO THE AREA TO EXAMINE PROBLEMS ON THE GROUND AND BEGIN THE SEARCH FOR WAYS IN WHICH WE MIGHT HELP. IF THEY HAD NOT KNOWN IT BEFORE, THE LEADERS OF GREECE, TURKEY AND CYPRUS NOW FULLY UNDERSTAND THAT WE ARE FIRMLY COMMITTED TO THE SEARCH FOR A JUST AND LASTING CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. PRESIDENT CARTER IS EQUALLY COMMITTED TO ENHANCING OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR TWO VALUED NATO ALLIES, UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 053954

GREECE AND TURKEY, AND TO SEEKING A MORE STABLE ATMOSPHERE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

"AS I EMBARKED ON THE MISSION IN MID-FEBRUARY, WE HAD SEVERAL RATHER IMPORTANT GOALS. TO ASSIST THE PRESIDENT IN HIS CONSIDERATION OF U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, IT WAS NECESSARY TO EXAMINE AND EVALUATE THE CURRENT PROBLEMS AND ATTITUDES IN GREECE, TURKEY AND CYPRUS AT FIRST HAND. THE MISSION PROVIDED A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO JUDGE WHAT CONTRIBUTION THE UNITED STATES COULD MAKE TOWARD FOSTERING PROGRESS IN THE SEEMINGLY INTRACTABLE CYPRUS DISPUTE. THE MISSION WAS ALSO INTENDED TO SERVE TO HELP PINPOINT WAYS IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES COULD IMPROVE ITS BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH GREECE AND TURKEY. FINALLY, IT PROVIDED VALUABLE INSIGHT INTO THE TENSIONS THAT EXIST BETWEEN TWO NATO ALLIES AND GAVE US A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF HOW THESE TWO COUNTRIES VIEW ONE ANOTHER.

"IF MY COLLEAGUES AND I NOW HAVE A GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS IN THE AREA, IT IS BECAUSE THE LEADERS OF GREECE, TURKEY AND CYPRUS DID ALL THEY COULD TO ENSURE THAT OUR VISIT ACHIEVED THIS PURPOSE. I WAS DEEPLY IMPRESSED BY THEIR HOSPITALITY AND WILLINGNESS TO IMPART THEIR VIEWS FULLY AND CANDIDLY. IN EACH OF THE COUNTRIES, I HELD PRI-

VATE CONVERSATIONS WITH THE NATIONAL LEADERS, AND ALONG WITH MY SMALL AND TALENTED TEAM, I HELD LENGTHY SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS ON ALL OF THE ISSUES OF MUTUAL CONCERN WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTERS, DEFENSE MINISTERS AND OTHER SENIOR OFFICIALS. THE DISCUSSIONS WERE SUCH THAT AS I DEPARTED EACH COUNTRY, I NOT ONLY HAD A CLEAR PICTURE OF THE ATTITUDES AND CONCERNS BUT A DEEP APPRECIATION OF THE PERSONALITIES OF THE MEN INVOLVED.

"WE DID NOT LIMIT OUR CONTACTS TO THOSE INDIVIDUALS NOW IN OFFICE, BUT ROUNDED OUT THE PICTURE BY TALKING TO MAJOR OPPOSITION LEADERS, IN EACH CASE WITH THE FULL KNOWLEDGE
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 053954

OF THE GOVERNMENT LEADERS. IN THE CASE OF CYPRUS, WE MET NOT ONLY WITH PRESIDENT MAKARIOS AND HIS SENIOR OFFICIALS, BUT WE ALSO TRAVELED NORTH INTO THE TURKISH-CYPRIOT AREA TO MEET WITH THE TURKISH-CYPRIOT LEADER, RAUF DENKTASH, AND SOME OF HIS COLLEAGUES.

"WE BEGAN LOOKING AT THE PROBLEM OF CYPRUS DURING OUR FIRST STOP OF THE TRIP, VIENNA, WHERE WE MET WITH UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM. WE ASSURED THE SECRETARY GENERAL THAT THE UNITED STATES FULLY SUPPORTED THE ROLE WHICH HAD BEEN GIVEN TO THE UNITED NATIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS. THE TIMING OF OUR MEETING WAS PARTICULARLY PROPITIOUS, AS THE SECRETARY GENERAL HAD JUST COMPLETED A TRIP TO NICOSIA WHERE HE MET JOINTLY WITH ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS AND MR. DENKTASH AND WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN ARRANGING FOR A RESUMPTION OF THE CYPRUS INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS LATE THIS MONTH.

'ONCE ON THE ISLAND, I HAD LENGTHY MEETINGS WITH ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS AND THE TURKISH-CYPRIOT LEADER, MR. DENKTASH. THE TALKS WERE FRANK AND FORTHRIGHT. BOTH SIDES PRESENTED IN ARTICULATE TERMS THEIR PERCEPTION OF WHAT IS NEEDED TO ACHIEVE A SOLUTION. I SENSE THAT THEY BOTH RECOGNIZED THAT NEGOTIATIONS TO DATE HAD ACHIEVED ALMOST NOTHING AND THAT WHAT WAS NEEDED NOW WERE DISCUSSIONS AS SPECIFIC AS POSSIBLE OF THE TWO CENTRAL ISSUES -- THE FUTURE TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR CYPRUS AND THE DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY BETWEEN THE CENTRAL AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENTS. IN MY CONVERSATIONS I DETECTED A NEW WILLINGNESS TO FACE THE DIFFICULT DECISIONS WHICH BOTH SIDES MUST NOW MAKE IF THE ISLAND'S AFFAIRS ARE TO BE SET IN ORDER. I LEFT THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN CONVINCED THAT THESE KEY SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES CAN BE TALKED ABOUT IN A REALISTIC AND CONCRETE FASHION DURING THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WHICH ARE TO BEGIN LATER THIS MONTH IN VIENNA.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 053954

"NO ONE CAN COME AWAY FROM CYPRUS WITHOUT SYMPATHY FOR THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN UPROOTED AND FORCED TO LEAVE PLACES WHERE THEIR FAMILIES HAVE LIVED FOR GENERATIONS. I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT DISPLACED PERSONS IN BOTH THE GREEK AND TURKISH AREAS. I FELT THE ANXIOUS CONCERN FOR THOSE CYPRIOTS WHO ARE STILL MISSING AFTER THE UNFORTUNATE HOSTILITIES. SEEING THE CYPRUS SITUATION IN ITS STARK HUMAN TERMS LENDS DRAMATIC EMPHASIS TO THE NEED FOR SWIFT PROGRESS TO A MORE STABLE CYPRUS. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, I SAW THE IMPRESSIVE RESULTS OF GENEROUS U.S. ASSISTANCE OVER THE PAST TWO AND ONE-HALF YEARS.

"I CAME AWAY FROM CYPRUS WITH A NUMBER OF THOUGHTS. FIRST, AND MOST IMPORTANT, I BELIEVE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS CAN BE MADE TOWARD A SOLUTION IN THE COMING MONTHS. WITH GOOD FAITH ON BOTH SIDES A SETTLEMENT IS DEFINITELY POSSIBLE BEFORE THE END OF THIS YEAR. I BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD CONTINUE TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN SUPPORT OF THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATING PROCESS, WHICH SHOULD PROCEED UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY WALDHEIM. ONCE THE TALKS HAVE BEGUN, I BELIEVE IT ESSENTIAL THAT WE WORK WITH THE PARTIES TO ENCOURAGE AND ENSURE A SUSTAINED NEGOTIATING TEMPO. IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY UNFORTUNATE IF THE PARTIES REVERTED TO THE NEGOTIATING PATTERN OF THE PAST--SHORT DISCUSSIONS AND LONG RECESSES.

"WE EMPHASIZED THE AMERICAN INTEREST AND INDEED THE WORLD INTEREST IN SUBSTANTIVE AND SUSTAINED NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES. I AM PLEASED TO REPORT THAT I BELIEVE THE PARTIES AS WELL AS THE LEADERS IN ANKARA AND ATHENS ALSO APPEAR TO SUPPORT A SERIOUS ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE A FAIR SETTLEMENT IN 1977.

"THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WAS ONLY ONE ASPECT OF THE MISSION. OUR VISITS TO ATHENS AND ANKARA WERE USEFUL IN CREATING A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE NETTLED UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 053954

UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH GREECE AND TURKEY. I PERSONALLY DELIVERED LETTERS FROM PRESIDENT CARTER TO THE LEADERS OF GREECE AND TURKEY, WHICH WERE WELL RECEIVED AND WHICH CLEARLY SET FORTH OUR EARNEST DESIRE FOR BETTER RELATIONS.

"IN BOTH CAPITALS, LENGTHY AND VALUABLE CONVERSATIONS WERE HELD ON A RANGE OF BILATERAL ISSUES. BOTH COUNTRIES ARE OBVIOUSLY LESS THAN SATISFIED WITH THEIR RELATIONS WITH US. WE LISTENED CAREFULLY AND GAVE THEM EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO STATE THEIR POINTS OF VIEW.

"ONE PRODUCT OF OUR VISITS TO GREECE AND TURKEY WAS A KEEN APPRECIATION OF THE DEPTH AND COMPLEXITY OF THE PROBLEMS INVOLVING QUESTIONS OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF AND AIR CONTROL ZONES IN THE AEGEAN SEA. THE INTENSITY WITH WHICH EACH SIDE CLINGS TO ITS OWN POSITION IN THIS DIFFICULT SET OF ISSUES WAS MADE CLEAR TO US.

"I BELIEVE OUR MISSION SERVED A USEFUL FUNCTION WITH REGARD TO THE AEGEAN QUESTIONS FOR WE WERE ABLE TO CONVEY THE RECENT THINKING IN EACH CAPITAL TO THE OTHER. BOTH SIDES NOW HAVE A CLEARER IDEA OF OUR DEEP CONCERN ABOUT THESE DIFFICULTIES IN THE AEGEAN AND OF OUR STRONG FEELING THAT THE TWO COUNTRIES MUST NEGOTIATE THESE QUESTIONS WITHIN A FRAMEWORK IN WHICH PROGRESS CAN BE MADE. I AM HEARTENED THAT BOTH SIDES REITERATED THEIR INTENTION TO WORK OUT THESE PROBLEMS AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE.

"I CAME AWAY FROM MY DISCUSSIONS IN ATHENS AND ANKARA CONVINCED ANEW OF THE CONTINUED ENORMOUS IMPORTANCE OF THE SOUTHERN FLANK OF NATO. THIS IS AN ENDURING AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE AREA. I THEREFORE FOCUSED MY TALKS ON HOW TOGETHER WE CAN REBUILD CLOSE BILATERAL AND ALLIANCE RELATIONS WITH BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY. THE LEADERS OF
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 053954

BOTH COUNTRIES CLEARLY WISH TO REMAIN FIRMLY ALIGNED WITH THE WESTERN ALLIANCE.

"IN CLOSING, I WOULD LIKE, ONCE AGAIN, TO EXPRESS MY GRATITUDE TO THE PRESIDENT FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE HIM IN THE CRITICALLY IMPORTANT AREA OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. I WANT, AS WELL, TO EXPRESS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS MY APPRECIATION FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ADVISE YOU OF THE RESULTS OF MY MISSION."
VANCE

UNCLASSIFIED

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE, US CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 10-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE053954
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/SE: RCEWING:LLL
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D770083-0663
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197703111/baaaevko.tel
Line Count: 258
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 4ea301b0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2964680
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CLIFFORD MISSION: CONGRESSIONAL STATEMENT
TAGS: PFOR, CY, GR, TU, US, (CLIFFORD, CALRK M)
To: ATHENS ANKARA MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/4ea301b0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009